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ABSTRACT

The goals of language policies in Marxist-Leninist states tend to be applied in three stages: (1) pluralism, (2) bilingualism, and (3) monolingualism. The language policies in Bulgaria, particularly as applied to the Turkish minority, fit this pattern. A pluralistic language and education tradition in Bulgaria, inherited from the Ottoman Empire, lasted until World War II. Turks and other national minorities were given rights to control their own schools and use their own language. Turkish schools in Bulgaria were important in maintaining language, religion and ethnic identity among Turks. Political changes in the 1920s and 1930s caused many of these schools to be closed, so that by the end of World War II their number had been reduced by 75 percent. After Communist Party consolidation of power in post-war Bulgaria, schools were nationalized, and the government worked for the assimilation of all minority groups into mainstream Bulgarian culture. From 1946 to about 1960, policies encouraged bilingualism among the Turkish minority. From 1960 to about 1970, the Bulgarian government consolidated Turkish schools with Bulgarian schools and eliminated Turkish language instruction. Turkish language publications of all types were gradually eliminated from libraries, bookstores, and homes. The transition to bilingualism and eventually monolingualism was aimed at facilitating assimilation; however, the Turkish minority have continued their social and cultural activities in Turkish. Since these people live in ethnically homogeneous communities that are physically isolated from Bulgarians, Turkish language will most likely continue to strengthen the Turkish minority. (AS)

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The goals of language policies in many Marxist-Leninist states are neither explicitly stated nor consistently applied in a predictable sequence. Nevertheless, the careful researcher can discern three stages in the application of language policies in such states. According to Connor these stages are pluralism, bilingualism, and monolingualism. During the pluralist stage, national minorities are left alone to deal with language and educational matters as they see fit. In some cases, the state may even encourage the development of certain minority languages. In either case, little pressure is exerted upon the members of national minorities to learn the state's dominant language. During the bilingualism stage there is a "growing overt pressure to learn the state's dominant language culminating in making this step mandatory." During the monolingualism stage increasing pressure is applied to make "the dominant tongue the sole language of instruction and the sole official language."[1] Language policies in Bulgaria from the time of Bulgarian independence from Ottoman rule in 1878 to the present fit this pattern.

Turkish-language Education in Bulgaria between 1878 and World War II

Bulgaria inherited pluralistic language and educational traditions from the Ottoman Empire. During the Ottoman period each millet (ethno-religious community) was given considerable autonomy to organize its educational institutions as it saw fit. Communal control over schools continued to be maintained after Bulgarian independence from Ottoman rule in 1878 in accordance with provisions of international treaties and bilateral agreements between Bulgaria and Turkey. Later on these guarantees were incorporated into the legal system of Bulgaria. Article 54 of Section IV of the Neuilly Peace Treaty of 1919 notes that national minorities in Bulgaria have "an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense . . . schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language" in these schools (emphasis added).[2]

With few exceptions, these gurantees were honored by the various governments that came to power in Bulgaria between 1878 and World War II. Although the constitution adopted by the new Bulgarian government in 1879 mandated compulsory study of Bulgarian in all minority schools in the

country, for a variety of reasons, this provision of the constitution was not implemented.

An important study by Negentsov and Vanev of education in southeastern Bulgaria between 1879 and 1885, when the region was annexed into the Kingdom of Bulgaria, illustrates the ethno-religious organization of schooling in the area (See Table 1).

TABLE 1: Number of Elementary School Students in Eastern Rumelia: 1880-1883[3]

	1880-1881		1881-1882		1882-1883	
Nationality	Number of Schools	Number of Students	Number of Schools	Number of Students	Number of Schools	Number Students
Bulgarian	866	49,268	852	53,004	866	51,288
Turkish	771	26,390	770	29,000	763	27,113
Greek	58	3,925	59	4,088	48	3,471
Jewish	13	818	13	780	14	918
Armenian	4	190	5	233	5	201
Totals:	1,712	80,591	1,699	86,905	1,696	82,991

Each ethno-religious community continued to provide education to its members, structure its own curricula, publish its own books, newspapers and journals, and provide appropriate cultural activities for its members. Almost every Turkish village in Bulgaria had a primary school (ilk okul). Towns with substantial Turkish minorities had several such schools. The villagers and townspeople were collectively responsible for the building and upkeep of schoolhouses and for paying the salaries of teachers in these schools. Turkish high schools (rustiyes) were located in towns. In addition to Turkish primary and secondary schools, there were also Koranic schools (medreses) where students were taught the Arabic language and the Islamic religion exclusively. The graduates of these schools were prepared to minister to the religious needs of Turks and other Muslims in the country.[4]

During the years immediately following Bulgarian independence in 1878, many private Turkish schools, especially in northern Bulgaria, were closed by the authorities. However, after the reunification of eastern Rumelia (southeastern Bulgaria) with Bulgaria in 1885, this situation improved considerably. The closed schools were reopened and new Turkish private schools were built.

By the early 1920s the number of Turkish schools of all types in Bulgaria had reached 1,712.[5] The tolerant attitude of Bulgarian authorities towards the schooling of Turks and other minorities came to an end with the

assassination of the Agrarian premier Stamboliiski in 1923. After 1923, especially after the assumption of power by an anti-Turkish and anti-Muslim military junta in 1934, educational conditions among Turkish speakers in Bulgaria worsened significantly. Many private Turkish primary schools, especially in rural villages, were closed so that by 1936 only 545 Turkish schools remained in Bulgaria. These conditions continued to deteriorate so that by the end of World War II the number of Turkish schools had been reduced by 75 percent[6] (See Table 2).

TABLE 2 Turkish Schools in Bulgaria 1921-1944[7]

Schools year	Primary schools	High schools	Totals
1921-1922	1,673	39	1,712
1928-1929	922	27	949
1936-1937	585	20	603
1937-1938	572	20	592
1938-1939	508	21	529
1939-1940	483	20	503
1940-1941	448	19	467
1941-1942	440	20	460
1942-1943	398	20	418
1943-1944	344	23	367

Nevertheless, the remaining schools were still under the control of the Turkish community. Major changes in these traditional patterns of education were put into effect only after the Communist Party consolidated its power in Bulgaria after World War II.

One of the most far-reaching changes in the education of Turkish-speakers in Bulgaria occurred in 1946. According to the provisions of the Education Law approved by the Bulgarian National Assembly during that year, all Turkish schools and school properties were nationalized. As a result, the Turkish community in Bulgaria lost control over its educational institutions. This change was to have far reaching effects on Turkish identity in Bulgaria.

Turkish Language Education in Bulgaria between 1946 and 1960

Language policies during this period can be characterized as encouraging bilingualism among the members of the Turkish minority. This period was marked by substantial freedom in educational and cultural matters and lasted until the 1958-59 school year. The period after 1960 was characterized by drastic limitations of this freedom which began with the consolidation of Turkish schools with Bulgarian schools after the 1958-59 school year and culminated in the elimination of all Turkish language instruction by the early 1970s. Language policies after the early 1970s ushered in the stage of monolingualism in Bulgarian.

The postwar reorganization of the educational system in Bulgaria was completed by the end of 1947. According to the provisions of "The Appendix to the Bulgarian Education Law," enacted into law in 1946, private Turkish schools were nationalized. This law also proposed that "[F]or the purpose of meeting the educational needs of the minority people in Bulgaria and to insure the education in their language, the State and Municipalities may open minority schools of any grade according to the needs observed."[8] The concept of compulsory education, originally introduced in 1879, was reaffirmed and implemented and a socialist orientation was adopted for the entire system.

The education of students of non-Bulgarian origin in Bulgaria was spelled out in Article 79 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria approved by the Grand National Assembly on December 4, 1947. It reads:

> National minorities have a right to be educated in their vernacular and to develop their national cultures, while the study of Bulgarian is compulsory (emphasis added).[9]

Article 79 also affirmed the responsibility of the state to provide quality education to all of its citizens. The Constitution as amended in 1961 reaffirmed the provisions of Article 79[10] even though the process of merging Turkish schools with Bulgarian schools had already begun. However, in Article 45 of the new Constitution adopted on May 16, 1971, there is a crucial change in the language with respect to the education of students of non-Bulgarian origin. The article merely states that "citizens who are not of Bulgarian origin have a right to learn their national language."[11] The previous guarantee of their right to be educated in their native language and their right to develop their national cultures, is eliminated. Changes in constitutional language reflect a fait accompli because by 1971 the education of Turkish speakers in their vernacular had virtually come to an end.

Soon after the nationalization of Turkish private schools in 1946 a nationwide curriculum was imposed on these schools. This curriculum provided a socialist and atheistic orientation to education. Official texts used in these schools stressed a nationalistic interpretation of Bulgarian history. The Ottoman rule was presented as a long, uninterrupted period of oppression and the struggle of Bulgarians for independence as a heroic undertaking. In these texts the Turks were characterized as bloodthirsty, brutal savages with no redeeming qualities.

Nevertheless, the language of instruction in nationalized schools remained Turkish. The curriculum was expanded and the study of Bulgarian language became compulsory. The implementation and strict enforcement of the compulsory education provision of the Education Law of 1946 and Article 79 of the Dimitrov Constitution of 1947 required the building, training and staffing of additional Turkish language schools to accomodate all school-age children from among the Turkish population. Consequently, the number of Turkish schools, students and teachers increased dramatically in Bulgaria during the post-war period. A comparison of numbers of Turkish schools, students and teachers in Bulgaria during the 1949-1950 school year with 1943-1944 school year shows marked improvement in all three categories (See Table 3).

TABLE 3 : Turkish Schools, Students, and Teachers in Bulgaria: 1943-1944 and 1949-1950[12]

Type of school	1943-1944 Schools	1943-1944 Students	1943-1944 Teachers	1949-1950 Schools	1949-1950 Students	1949-1950 Teachers
I. Day Schools						
1. Kindergartens	--	--	--	20	755	22
2. Primary schools	397	35,253	802	1,018	84,917	2,454
3. Middle schools	27	2,082	69	157	13,692	511
4. High schools	--	--	--	1	618	21
5. Teacher training institutes	--	--	--	1	284	20
II. Night schools						
6. Primary schools	--	--	--	2	110	9
Totals:	424	37,335	871	1,199	100,376	3,037

The number of teachers in Turkish language schools more than tripled, while the number of schools and students enrolled in these schools almost tripled. There was an almost sixfold increase in the number of middle schools. One new high school and a new teacher-training school were established. The foundation for a nationwide system of kindergartens were laid with the establishment of twenty kindergartens in Turkish areas. The educational needs of older Turkish speakers, who were overwhelmingly illiterate, began to be addressed with the establishment of adult literacy classes at night. Over a few short years literacy rates showed a significant improvement. The compulsory study of Bulgarian also led to a marked increase in the number of Turks who became bilingual.

Even though Turkish parents disagreed with some aspects of education in the nationalized Turkish schools, especially atheistic orientation to education and the requirement that all school-age girls attend school, nevertheless, the retention of Turkish as the language of instruction mollified many of them. These developments were interpreted by many Turkish parents as a genuine concern on the part of the government to lift the cultural and educational level among Turkish speakers. Morale was high and Turks generally developed a positive attitude towards the government.

Unfortunately, this seeming educational and cultural renaissance among Turkish speakers was short lived. Soon it became apparent that the goal of the government's educational policies among Turkish speakers was geared toward their assimilation into the mainstream Bulgarian culture. The retention of Turkish as the language of instruction in nationalized schools was done for purely practical reasons. With hindsight it is clear that the government had no intention to encourage and perpetuate the maintenance of strong Turkish ethnic identity through Turkish language instruction and support of Turkish cultural institutions.

The Elimination of Turkish Language Instruction in Bulgaria from 1960 to the Present

After the 1958-59 school year, the Bulgarian government embarked on a forced assimilationist policy toward the Turkish-speaking minority. This new policy led to the merger of Turkish schools with Bulgarian schools between 1960 and 1970. Although the government mandated the teaching of Turkish language in all schools with ten or more Turkish students, if the parents of these students requested it, this requirement was largely ignored. The teaching of Turkish was phased out entirely by the early 1970s. By the 1970-71 school year the 'unification' of Turkish schools with Bulgarian schools was completed. The teaching of Turkish language as an optional subject in schools with sizeable numbers of Turkish students was retained in

the law. However, only in a few schools was Turkish taught after 1970-71. These courses too were eliminated from the curriculum at the end of the 1973-74 school year. Since then no courses in Turkish have been offered in any school in Bulgaria.[13]

It is ironic that during a time when the Bulgarian government was actively engaged in dismantling Turkish-language educational institutions [as well as other cultural institutions] in the country, Bulgarian officials continued to make announcements that the government was committed to the maintenance and development of these same institutions. For example, General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Todor Zhivkov in his congratulatory message to Yeni Hayat, the Turkish-language monthly, on its tenth anniversary in 1964, said:

> All possible opportunities have been created for the Turkish population to develop their culture and language freely . . . The children of the Turkish population must learn their [mother] tongue and perfect it. To this end it is necesary that the teaching [of the Turkish language] be improved in schools. Now and in the future the Turkish population will speak their mother tongue; they will develop their progressive traditions in this language; they will write their contemporary literary works [in Turkish] . . . they will sing their wonderfully beautiful song [in Turkish] . . . Many more books must be published in this country in Turkish, including the best works of progressive writers in Turkey.[14]

In this propagandistic vein the Turkish section of Narodna Prosveta Publishing House continued to publish Turkish texts (reading books and grammars) to be used in the primary grades until 1966.[15] Also the same publishing house put a out a number of collected works of poetry, short stories, and novels written by well-known native Turkish poets and writers, the last of which was published in 1969.[16] Abruptly and without explanation such publications ceased after 1969. Available volumes were taken off bookstore and library shelves. The Turkish section of Narodna Prosveta publishing house was closed. Turkish-language newspapers and periodicals began to appear in bilingual editions and became stridently anti-Turkish and anti-Muslim propaganda pieces. Native Turkish intellectuals who objected were arrested and imprisoned.

The merging of Turkish schools with Bulgarian schools coincided with government efforts to impoverish the written Turkish of native writers by requiring them to substitute Bulgarian and Russian words in place of Turkish

words. For this purpose an extensive list (over 10,000) of Turkish words and their Bulgarian/Russian equivalents was drawn up as a guide to editors and writers (See Table 4).

TABLE 4: Partial List of Turkish Words and Their Bulgarian Equivalents[17]

Turkish	Bulgarian	English trans
mefkure	ideya	idea
rapor	doklad	report
donem	period	era
magaza	sklad	warehouse
kutuphane	biblioteka	library
okuma yurdu	chitalishte	community reading room
bakan	ministur	state secretary
baskan	predsedatel	president
yenilikci	ratsionalizator	advocate of change
yedek	rezerv	spare part
emekli	pensioner	retired
kamp	lager	camp
dumen	kormilo	steering wheel
mermi	patron	bullet
hemsire	sestra	nurse
ebe	akusherka	midwife
subay	ofitser	colonel
albay	polkovnik	captain
burs	stipendiya	stipend
dernek	krijok	association
edebiyat	literatura	literature
gunluk	dnevnik	daily register
maas	zaplata	salary
dilekce	molba	petition
mukavele	dogovor	contract
yorum	komentar	commentary
kanun	zakon	law

In addition, native Turkish writers were required to use the Bulgarian names for the months of the year: Januari instead of Ocak, Fevruari instead of Subat and so on. Names of continents, countries, seas, oceans, and rivers and oll other geographical names, as well as all technical terms were to be replaced by Bulgarian or Russian words.

Special style editors were appointed to the editorial offices of Turkish periodicals and the Turkish branch of Narodna Prosveta Publishing House, to make sure that all submissions adhered to the new requirements. These style editors were not specialists in linguistics or on language use. Their only qualification was their loyalty and defense of government policies. Those Turkish writers who continued to use the 'forbidden' Turkish words in their writings were heavily censored and reprimanded. Often, works submitted in unapproved style, regardless of merit, were not published.

In 1969 the government took the decisive step to eliminate Turkish literature, both works translated into Turkish from other languages and original works, altogether. Toward the end of that year the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party published its 'secret' decisions on the topic of 'About Ideological Work among Turks.' The Central Committee recommended that these directives be put into effect quickly by all means possible. Mehmet Cavus summarizes main points of this ideological work.

> (1) The main goal of communism being the ethnic unification of all groups into a single whole, it is necessary that members of a nation-state share a single language, literature, art, culture and customs.
> (2) Native Turkish literature in Bulgaria, by confining itself only to questions about the Turkish minority, being influenced by bourgeois Turkish literature from Turkey, incites Turkish nationalism among Turks in Bulgaria, and is, therefore, contrary to the communist ideology.
> (3) Native Turkish poets and writers, by concentrating on topics of the past in their writings, step outside the bounds of socialist literature [which is supposed to be future oriented]. By so doing they betray the laws of the state and bring harm to Marxism-Leninism.
> (4) The literary works of native Turkish poets and writers, being written only in Turkish, keep alive Turkish identity and nullify the force of socialist Bulgarian literature among Turkish speakers. This is contrary to internationalism and ethnic unification.
> (5) Under the influence of bourgeois Turkish writers [from Turkey], native Turkish writers are trying to purify the Turkish language by freeing it from foreign elements [Bulgarian]. The goal of this is to deemphasize the use of Bulgarian language among the members of the Turkish minority.
> (6) Native Turkish literature is unable to instill communist consciousness among Turks, is unable to counteract the harm

of Islam among them, and is unable to animate the life of communist man.[18]

After the publication of these "secret" decisions, a series of actions were taken to undermine and eliminate the foundations of native Turkish literature in Bulgaria. Turkish newspapers and magazines as well as the Turkish branch of Narodna Prosveta Publishing House in Sofia were closed. Native Turkish writers were told to write only in Bulgarian, to communicate to their readers messages that praised socialism, and to sever all of their relations with Turkey and Turkish literature. Everything was done to intimidate native Turkish writers and to force them to toe the party line. The consequences of this policy were tragic.

With the implementation and enforcement of the directives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, a native Turkish literature that had survived and even flourished in one form or another for some 600 years was entirely eliminated. The Bulgarian authorities were not satisfied with this alone. They wanted to eliminate all traces of the existence of native Turkish literature or any Turkish literature in Bulgaria. All works in Turkish, including works by Soviet and Western writers translated into Turkish and published in Bulgaria, were taken off the library and bookstore shelves and destroyed. Turkish books, newspapers and magazines were collected from Turkish households and burned. Those Turks who didn't voluntarily surrender books in Turkish in their personal libraries, even though these books were published in Bulgaria, were subjected to heavy fines and/or jail terms. During the winter months of 1984-85, close to one million Turks in Bulgaria were forced to replace their Turkish-Muslim names with conventional Bulgarian ones. The graves of well-known Turkish writers were all destroyed in 1985 and they were given Bulgarian names many years after their deaths!

The Ideological Underpinnings of Language Policy in Bulgaria

The language policy of the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria has been guided by ideas of romantic nationalism. This romantic nationalism, which has become an explicit and integral part of the government's strategy to eliminate cultural diversity in the country, sees the "nation as a basic and natural subdivision of humanity, a political unit" (Lunt 1986:729). Although such a definition of a nation does not imply that members of a nation speak the same language and live on the same territory, Bulgarian ideologues have considered both to be "natural and self evident peculiar charateristics of a proper nation."[19] Bulgarian ideologues,

have taken for granted that <u>nation</u> = <u>language</u> = <u>territory</u>

> state . . . Because the territory is Bulgarian, the dogma goes, the people who inhabit it are Bulgarians. Because they are Bulgarians, they must speak the Bulgarian language and should be in a single nation-state (emphasis added).[20]

According to this ideology, only cultural homogeneity legitimates a state's sovereignty. It includes strong elements of Bulgarian chauvinism and Bulgarian nationalism. Yanov's characterization of Russian chauvinists and nationalists aptly describes the position of Bulgarian ideologues:

> A chauvinist loves his country but dislikes humanity, especially if it is of [Turkish] origin. A nationalist loves his country but sees humanity as an invading force ready to conquer it - with the [Turks] in the vanguard.[21]

Conclusion

Ever since the Communist Party consolidated its power in Bulgaria after World War II, it has been working hard at the creation of unified single-nation state through the assimilation of all minority groups into mainstream Bulgarian culture. Education was seen as the primary means to accomplish this task. The maintenance of Turkish language instruction in schools in Turkish areas after 1946 was done for practical reasons. Since the members of the Turkish-speaking community were largely monolingual in Turkish at the time the post-World War II educational reforms began to be implemented, Turkish language instruction along with compulsory study of Bulgarian was seen as the best way to establish bilingualism as a first step toward assimilation. Turkish language instruction would also serve as a vehicle to develop an atheistic worldview among Turkish Muslims, to fight Islamic beliefs and practices, and to disseminate socialist values. Ultimately, the Bulgarian authorities hoped to use Turkish-language instruction to weaken the separate ethnic and religious consciousness among Turkish speakers, thus furthering their assimilation into Bulgarian society. A decade of Turkish language instruction apparently fell far short of these anticipated goals. The authorities felt the continuation of Turkish language instruction was an obstacle to assimilation since Turkish language instruction had served to strengthen rather than weaken Turkish identity. A decade of compulsory study of Bulgarian in Turkish schools had also increased the rate of bilingualism considerably among the younger generation of Turkish speakers so that the government decided to move from bilingualism to monolingualism in Bulgarian by eliminating Turkish language instruction altogether.

Bilingualism was a short-term practical solution to the educational needs of largely monolingual Turkish population. Once the Turkish children learned Bulgarian well-enough, they were to be mainstreamed. The goal of monolingualism in Bulgarian was an to weaken family, religious, and community ties among Turks by eliminating Turkish language instruction, which, in turn, would facilitate their assimilation into the mainstream Bulgarian culture. As Chaika observes,

> A shared language strengthens social and familial bonds . . . When people lose the language of their traditions, they may also start to disolve the traditions themselves.[22]

This attempt largely failed because the Turkish minority in Bulgaria shared a number of traits that contributed to the retention of Turkish language. First, the Turkish minority is large, over one million people, representing over ten percent of the entire population of the country. Even though Turkish language instruction was eliminated in Bulgaria by the early 1970s and increasing pressure was applied against the use of Turkish in public, the members of the Turkish minority have continued to carry on their social and cultural activities in Turkish. Second, Turks in Bulgaria live in ethnically homogeneous villages and ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods in towns and cities, which contributes to the retention of Turkish language. Third, Turks in Bulgaria are physically and psychologically isolated from Bulgarians.[23] Their psychological isolation from the mainstream has increased considerably during the last five years as pressures for their assimilation have accelerated. In the absence of concerted efforts to undermine these three conditions, the retention of Turkish language is likely to be an important factor in maintaining, if not strengthening, the cultural, religious, and familial bonds among the members of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria.

Notes

[1]Walker Connor, The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984, p 255.
[2]Bilal Şimşir, Turkish Minority Education and Literature in Bulgaria. Ankara: Ministry of Foreign Affaris Press, 1986a, p. 4.

[3]K. Negentsov and I. Vanev, Obrazovanieto v Iztochna Rumelia, 1879-1885. Sofia: Bulgarska Akademia na Naukite, 1959, pp. 128-129.
[4]See Mustecib Ulkusal, Dobruca ve Turkler. Ankara: Turk Kulturunu Araştırma Enstitusu, 1966, pp. 105-121.
[5]Stojan Omarchevski, Otchet za Deinosta na Ministerstvoto ot 20 mai 1920 god. do 1 juli 1922. Sofia, 1922, p. 604.
[6]Bilal Şimşir, Bulgaristan Turkleri, 1878-1985. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1986b, p. 149.
[7]Ibid.; Husein Memishev, Uchastieto na Bulgarskite Turtsi v Borbata Protiv Kapitalizma i Fashizma, 1914-1944. Sofia: Partizdat, 1977, p. 126.
[8]Şimşir, 1986a, Op. Cit., p. 7.
[9]Jan F. Triska, ed., "Bulgaria." In Constitutions of the Communist Party States. Stanford: The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, 1968, p. 163.
[10]Ibid., pp. 176-77.
[11]Asa Knowles, ed., "Bulgaria, Peoples Republic of," The International Encyclopedia of Education, 3, 1977, p. 692.
[12]Direktsija na Pechata, Turetskoe Menshinstvo v Narodnoj Respublike Bolgarii. Sofia, 1951, p. 130.
[13]See Ali Eminov, "The education of Turkish speakers in Bulgaria," Ethnic Groups, 5, 1983, pp. 129-149.
[14]The full text of Zhivkov's message entitled, "The Turkish population of Bulgaria is proud to live in a socialist society," was published in the Turkish language newspaper, Yeni Isık, March 5, 1964, pp. 1-2.
[15]S. Demirof et al., Okuma Kitabı: VII Sınıf. Sofia: Narodna Prosveta, 1966; Emil Boyef et al., Dilbilgisi: VII Sınıf. Sofia: Narodna Prosveta, 1966.
[16]Muharrem Tahsinof, Çarıklı Filozof. Sofia: Narodna Prosveta, 1969.
[17]Mehmet Çavuş, ed., 20. Yuzyıl Bulgaristan Turkleri Siiri: Antoloji. Istanbul, p. 67.
[18]Ibid., pp. 68-69.
[19]Horace G. Lunt, "On Macedonian nationality," Slavic Review, 45 (4), 1986, pp. 729.
[20]Ibid., pp. 729-730.
[21]Quoted in Roman Szporluk, "Dilemmas of Russian nationalism," Problems of Communism, 38 (4), 1989, p. 16. I have substituted "Turkish" and "Turks" for "Jewish" and "Jews" in the original.
[22]Elaine Chaika, Language: A Social Mirror, 2nd ed., New York: Newbury House, 1989, p. 297.
[23]Ibid., pp. 312-313.